Two documents: *(From LSA/LSO DB #18, November 1972)*

1) STATEMENT ON (the PC) DRAFT RESOLUTION ON "CANADA AND THE CRISIS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM"

While Canada has an advanced capitalist economy with a strong capitalist class in state power, and is imperialist, Canada is rapidly approaching economic integration with the United States.

While we do not consider that this fact projects any general national tasks, with respect to English Canada, *(or)* alliances of any kind with the Canadian capitalist class or any part of them *(--)* the enemy is in our own country *(--)* we think that this economic integration of Canada with the most powerful imperialist power in the world will extend and deepen responses within the ranks of the working class, which we have characterized as anti-U.S. imperialist and which we should now call nationalist -- a nationalism which has been developing to an anti-capitalist consciousness.

It is not reactionary. It is not opposed in its general thrust to Québécois nationalism for instance. We must identify with it in order to understand politics in Canada and in order to effectively propagandize our revolutionary socialist views and build the Trotskyist party.

We reject the document *Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism (DB#17 submitted by the LSA/LSO P.C. --ed.)* because we consider that it essentially rejects the line of the document *Canada-U.S. Relations* which was adopted at our 1968 convention. We think that the 1968 document requires some changes and adjustments in the light of the important developments over the past four years; however, it is our opinion that it is one of the most precious achievments of our movement and it provides the only correct basis from which to move forward.

The document *Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism* fails to deal with the domination of Canada by U.S. imperialism and where it does touch on it it is entirely insufficient, if not wrong. It is incorrect in its characterization of the Canadian capitalist class from the point of view of its position in Canada and its investments on a world scale a powerful capitalist class -- in relation to the United States capitalist class and even lesser imperialist powers.

The crisis of world imperialism, focusing in on the U.S. as the chief imperialist power, does not allow greater independence of Canadian capitalism but increasing need to adjust to the domination of U.S. imperialism.

This fact is compelling U.S. imperialism to adopt an even more ruthless exploitation of Canadian resources and of the working class of Canada -- and to heighten the struggle of the Canadian workers against the Canadian capitalist class for its defense of U.S. capitalism's thrust to economically integrate Canada -- which we consider if not already realized, to be inevitable.

Kent (R.D.)

Marlon (D.L.)

November 14, 1972

2) A CONTRIBUTION ON THE CANADA-US RELATIONS QUESTION

By Dennis Lomas, Toronto Local, West Branch
(From LSA/LSO DB #18, November 1972)

One of the most important challenges before our movement in the present period of radicalization has been to analyze a growing anti-imperialist sentiment against US domination of the economic and social life of Canada. The movement has taken on this challenge. The 1968 document on *Canada-US Relations* successfully probed this question, elucidated its main features, described its roots, and projected its dynamic. It is the most useful tool the movement has produced to aid our understanding of the problems and our practical activity in relation to the sentiment. As a matter of fact, the document anticipated the emergence of the question on a widespread public level by a year or so.

Aside from an analysis of the extent and weight of American big business control of Canada which this sentiment opposes, there remains the task of analysing the sentiment itself. The domination of Canada by the US makes up the objective side of the problem. The reaction of the Canadian people makes up the subjective side. An understanding of both is essential. Both of these sides were taken up in the 1968 document.

In this document for the pre-convention discussion, I intend to take up the subjective side of this question.

In relation to this, the broader question of the role and weight of the subjective factor in general has come into the discussion in my opinion. Since a general appreciation of the importance of the subjective factor in history precedes the application of this understanding to specific circumstances, in particular to the anti-imperialist sentiment, I will deal with this subject first of all.

The Subjective Factor in History

Human beings have managed to harness the processes of nature to an enormous extent. Although in the broadest sense they are compelled and restricted by the objective forces of nature, this is not what has characterized human evolution and history. The essential process of human development consists of this species' abilities to adapt and modify natural processes to suit the promotion of human well being. Humankind has been impressively successful in rising above its former slavish dependence on the blind forces of nature. None of the other species have accomplished this.

Even today the subjective forces, born of labor, which we possess, continue to make further encroachments into the domain of nature. Science has split the atom, developed an incisive understanding of natural processes, prolonged human life. Technology using the fruits of scientific endeavor has revolutionized transportation, communication, agriculture, data processing, exploration. The accomplishments of human consciousness and creativity in this sphere are stupendous; the potential for the future is boundless.

In striking contrast to this picture is humankind's continued supine subservience to its own productive and social relations. We remain, like our ancestors at the dawn of class society, victims of the blind and merciless objective forces engendered by class society. The subjective forces in history have given us substantial freedom from nature; they have yet to free

us from class society.

This situation is exasperated (exacerbated) in this century by the over-ripening of the objective, economic pre-requisites for socialism. The disturbing threat of a nuclear holocaust is ever present. Although our conscious activity has enabled us to go from the earth to the moon, it has not enabled us to go from capitalism to socialism. Unless this step is taken, all other accomplishments stand to be destroyed along with the species and life itself.

This abysmal underdevelopment of consciousness in relation to social problems is a product of class society, of capitalism in this epoch. Capitalist production and social relations fragments the existence of workers, lowers their conscious horizon. In addition the capitalist class uses its monopoly control of the mass media to hide and distort the real truth and real alternatives from people to prevent them from radically changing their economic and social conditions.

History shows that the capitalist system has been successful in distorting and mystifying historical and social processes in the minds of workers and other oppressed sectors. Initially workers, basing their judgements on first impressions, believe that capitalism and the capitalist state are beneficial to them. This is expected. Workers receive their livelihood from the processes of capital. They live within the context of one capitalist state. It goes without saying that these attitudes, reinforced by the mass media, on a plant or a national level serve only to sustain the status quo in this epoch. They are incompatible with socialism.

The Development of Class Consciousness

Insidious propaganda cannot block the historical process however. With time and experience workers and other oppressed sectors of society begin to overcome the misconceptions which capitalism inculcates and attempts to reinforce. The development of a consciousness away from an ideology and outlook acceptable to capitalism results when people begin to realize that the boss, capitalism, the ruling class, the state, the system do not benefit them but exploit, oppress, degrade them. For workers this signifies the birth of class consciousness on an elemental level. Accompanying it is the notion that things have to be changed for the better of the downtrodden.

This striving, always arising, by nature contradictory and complicated, interacting with other subjective factors, can only be satisfied by socialism. This consciousness has to be studied, clarified, promoted, lead by socialists. This success on a world scale and in Canada will determine the course of history. Herein lies the crucial importance of the subjective factor in history for us today.

Within this framework the specific sentiment against US domination of Canada should be viewed.

The Transitional Method

For Marxists a thorough-going analysis of the most stable features of society is unmistakeably necessary. The program of a revolutionary party must be formulated to meet the objective needs of the oppressed masses. Revolutionaries must be prepared to take it whenever possible into the ranks of the working class and other oppressed sectors. Reformists are willing to change their basic ideas and program under the slightest pressure from public opinion. Revolutionaries stand up against the most adverse pressure when principles are at stake.

The Trotskyist movement does not make a fetish out of its program, however, by raising

the same demands at all times, in all situations, demanding total acceptance. The LSA/LSO orients its practical activity toward the goal of embedding key aspects of its program in the consciousness of the masses. This can only be accomplished by knowing the moods, sentiments, level of consciousness of the general population. The movement puts forward sections or parts of the transitional program in specific situations and conjunctures to meet the concrete needs of the working class and oppressed sectors. The total effect of our work should be to bridge the gap between the elemental and developing consciousness of the masses nnd the consciousness and combativity required to make a revolution. This is the transitional method. It can only work by knowing the class, its thinking, and participating with it through the successive stages of its conscious development.

Analysing objective reality, developing a program, assessing the consciousness of the masses, and taking this program to the masses are key and indispensable tasks of the Trotskyist movement in Canada. The movement does not pretend to have the final answers on any of these counts. It cannot. Objective reality itself changes. New situations arise. The elemental development of class consciousness takes on complex forms, in part corresponding to the objective situation itself. International activities have a greater effect on the masses. These changing aspects, both subjective and objective, not to be ignored, must be incorporated into our overall perspective and our practical work must be oriented accordingly.

One of the most notable examples of the movement's attempt to update its analysis has been its analysis of the post-second world war university and the burgeoning of an international student movement in the late fifties, sixties, and seventies. This was an entirely new development in history. The Trotskyist movement played an enormous role in the development of an overall understanding of the role of the modern day student sector, its significance and social weight. The movement's student program, rich experiences in intervening in the student movement, and the success and growth of the YS/LJS and LSA/LSO are testimony to the accuracy of its understanding.

Over the past decade and a half, the span of the present radicalization, the movement has faced many similar challenges. The rise of Québécois nationalism early in this period prompted a critical analysis of its objective roots and a formulation of a revolutionary policy and program for Québécois nationalism. Our movement was particularly astute in sensing the first widespread stirrings of women's liberation consciousness. In each case -- there are other examples -- a new consciousness directed against a specific concrete aspect of capitalism prompted the movement to widen its

understanding and as a result increase its effectiveness. This record of the LSA/LSO is consistent with its aim: to build a party that embodies the experience of the working class and other oppressed sectors, participates in struggles with them, generalizes their experiences, deepens their understanding, and leads them to victory.

In my opinion the movement faces a similar challenge from the rising sentiment against American domination of the economic and social life of Canada. We passed the first hurdle with the passage and publication of the 1968 document on Canada-US relations.

This contribution to the present convention discussion is considered by me to be a contribution to the understanding of this sentiment.

The Sentiment Against American Domination and Control

Since the publication of the 1968 document entitled *Canada-US Relations: A Socialist Viewpoint*, the timeliness of the pamphlet has been demonstrated in life. The sentiment, correctly characterized as anti-imperialist in 1968, is widely and openly expressed today. The

question of Canada-US relations is central to the policies of all political currents and parties -- left, right, and center. A rapid survey of the past four years in relation to this sentiment bears out this observation.

The reaction of the Canadian people against the Amchitka blast *(nuclear bomb test off the North-west BC/Alaska coast by the US military in 1971 --ed.)* highlighted this period of time. During the Amchitka upsurge tens of thousands of people, mainly students, demonstrated at the border crossings. They were symbolically attempting to keep American influence out of Canada. The demonstrations as a whole were directed against the US presidency and supreme courts, the institutions which had the final authority with respect to the detonation of the blast. As a result the upsurge was directed against the United States. It was anti-Pentagon, anti-American (government), anti-imperialist.

The number and variety of experiences and incidents, many occurring quite recently, underline this sentiment's legitimacy and depth. For instance, thousands of people responded to a petition campaign, conducted over the radio, against the American big-business dominated National Hockey League (NHL). They were protesting the NHL's arbitrary restriction of candidates for Team Canada to contracted NHL players. An incident in Calgary: the majority of the population opposed the appointment of an American police chief. And in West Edmonton, Liberal Mel Hurtig has received considerable response from young people in his campaign directed against American ownership and control of industry (in) Canada. More recently, economists, ecologists, Indians *(Natives)* and the NDP have denounced the proposed MacKenzie pipeline project which is designed to take natural gas and oil solely to US industry. Finally, a recent Gallup poll asked people to express their approval or disapproval "of the way the Federal Government is responding to US control of our industry and national resources." 40 per cent disapproved; 34 per cent approved on a country-wide basis. The figures unmistakeably indicate the growing dissatisfaction with the government's unabashed continentalist economic policies and perspective.

Four years ago the sentiment was underground and nascent. Today it (is) bound up with and in part springs from opposition to the Vietnam war. It is implicitly linked with the widespread opposition to nuclear armament since the Pentagon *(--)* US imperialism *(--)* is the chief offender. It has become part of the appeal of the NDP, the political arm of the labor movement. The NDP has made opposition to American control of the economy a key part of its federal election campaign strategy. Among students, in the forefront of this radicalization, it has been strong for some time. It is directed against US big business control of the university and society. This sentiment, independent and legitimate by itself, like the other radical features of this period, has become part of the total consciousness. It reinforces other aspects and in turn is propelled forward by them.

The phenomenal growth of the sentiment's appeal has resulted in its considerable impact on the political scene. Shortly after the publication of the *(LSA)* document in 1968, the Waffle movement was born. Under the banner of opposition to American control, it popularized the concept of nationalization of American corporations in Canada. Due to the efforts of Waffle, this proposal has received a remarkable hearing throughout Canada. To a modest extent the entire NDP has been identified with the concept, much to the chagrin of the NDP right-wing brass.

Within the NDP, the Waffle, characterized primarily by its radical stance on the issue of American control, provided the most serious left challenge to the NDP brass since the formation of the NDP. Nationalization of American big business, especially resource corporations, appealed to wide layers of the NDP ranks. *(Waffle: see 1969b, 1971, 1973h in this section and 1969#10 in W5 Labor Party -- Web Ed.)*

In addition the Liberal party has been thrown into a crisis because of the growing concern of Canadians. The controversy and split between those in that party who want to pay some lip service to the sentiment in order to defuse and distort it and those who blatantly welcome American investment is not inconsiderable or inconsequential. This issue has caused an open serious breach to the party. Former cabinet minister Eric Kierans and Walter Gordon have publically broken from the party's positions. Mel Hurtig's campaign in West Edmonton is a big embarrassment for Trudeau. Kieran's break comes in the midst of a federal election campaign. As well, the *Toronto Star*, the most influential daily in Canada, withdrew its support from the Liberal party in the federal elections for the first time in fifty years. Every deep-going radicalization throws up issues which create disenchantment, confusion, (and) splits within the ruling class and its apologists. The sentiment against American control of the economic and social life of Canada has undoubtly provoked the present difficulties within the ruling Liberal Party.

Although the NDP brass unremittingly fought the Waffle's positions on the issue, the NDP has attracted considerable support because of its identification with the cause the sentiment represents. The NDP has gained considerable hearing for its policy on the issue, to the detriment of the Liberals and Conservatives, especially in the present election campaign. Eric Kierans added to the legitimacy of the NDP and the effectiveness of its election campaign by saying he would vote for the NDP in this election. The *Toronto Star,* because of its class bias ended up half-heartedly supporting the Conservative Party. Nonetheless, the *Star*'s expressed opposition to the Liberals over the issue of foreign control leads people toward the NDP since the Conservatives are indistinguishable from the Liberals on this issue, even by the *Star*'s previous admission. Like the other aspects of anti-capitalist consciousness in English Canada, the sentiment against American control has flowed into the NDP and has been expressed by that party.

The widespread sentiment against American control arrives late in this present radicalization. The issue of Canada-US relations has received considerable public attention only since 1968. Its lateness does not mean its weakness or irrelevency, however. Quite the opposite. It has reached broad layers of the population and entered the stage of the political life of Canada.

The Roots of the Sentiment

The obviousness of US big business control of the economy is directly proportional to the concern of the Canadian people. US big business owns and controls the key components and commanding heights of the economy. These include the oil, manufacturing (rubber, auto, electrical, airplane), insurance, mining and smelting industries. US big business invests more in Canada than in any other country outside of the United States. It owns and controls more than 60 percent of the Canadian economy.

In comparison to the American capitalist class the Canadian capitalist class is weak, a subservient junior partner around the world and in Canada. With few exceptions, its main interests lie in service oriented industry, like transportation, banking, communication. Given the preponderance of US capital, the Canadian capitalist class cannot have decisive control of the internal market.

The Canadian capitalist class, represented by the Liberals and Conservatives, is fully conscious of its relationship to economic power of the United States. It has no illusions. Recently, External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp likened the North American economy to a horse and rabbit stew with Canada the rabbit and the US the horse. Former Prime Minister Lester Pearson once rationalizdd the growing economic influence of the United States in Canada

by saying if seduction is inevitable, why not relax and enjoy it. Prime Minister Trudeau publically admitted Canada has a satellite relation to the United States, similar to the relationship between Poland and Russia.

The extent of integration of the economies of Canada and the United States is directly proportional to the weakness, and subservience of the Canadian ruling class. There is less and less basis to differentiate between Canadian and American capital. US big business has penetrated the largest Canadian multi-national corporations. Its influence is growing. In turn Canadian big business is eager to invest in the gigantic world-wide, American-based corporations which accrue super profits.

The weak Canadian capitalist class, tied by golden chains to the US colossus, needing stability and support, can be expected to promote further integration. From the point of view of its own self interest it is not mistaken.

Although Canadian and American investment is practically undifferentiated, the internal balance of the respective economies differs. Canada is an outlet for surplus capital. It ships out a proportionately high amount of raw or semi-processed materials. Wages are lower in Canada. Mineral royalties paid by the large mining and oil companies are lower. The predominance and strength of the US economy in North America works to the advantage of the US economy. It tends to undermine and distort the Canadian economy.

The contentalist economic perspective, a euphemism for continuing US control, is agreeable to the Canadian capitalist class. It serves their interest. However the working class has to pay a price in lower wages. More significantly, workers are more and more exploited directly by the American capitalist class, a class which politically interposes the Canadian state and the Canada-US border between it and the workers and other oppressed sectors. It is twice removed.

An Anti-Imperialist Sentiment

Unlike the economies of other "advanced" capitalist countries, Canada's economy is dominated and controlled by a larger capitalist power, the United States. Workers, intellectuals, students have in the past identified their interests with the interests of the United States and American business.

Before Canadians identified with the US, they regarded British imperialism highly. In each case the reactionary identification with a foreign imperialist power, England first followed by the United States, was promoted (and still is in the case of the United States) by the Canadian ruling class.

The sentiment against US control breaks out of this mold cast by British, Canadian and American big business. It opposes US control of the economy of Canada. As such it is opposed to the perspective of the Canadian (ruling --*correction by the web Ed*.) class. It is specifically opposed to the difficulties and distortion which occurs in the Canadian economy because of US domination. It is a sentiment against capitalism as it exists for the people of English Canada. It is for these reasons an anti-imperialist sentiment which is an elemental expression of class consciousness.

In the past when Canada was still under the thumb of British imperialism, progressive and radical Canadians often took inspiration from the democratic and anti-imperialist traditions represented by the United States. History has reversed that picture entirely. Today the other side, now totally exposed, is despised by radicalizing people the world over. Opposition to the

war in Vietnam is a key factor fueling the anti-imperialist sentiment in Canada against the United States.

This sentiment, born of protest, anti-capitalist by nature, fueled by opposition to the Vietnam war, finds its rightful place beside other forms of anti-capitalist consciousness in the minds of English Canadians.

It poses a real threat to capitalism.

It provides socialists with a key and welcome opportunity.